

SOME FEW  
**REMARKS,**

UPON

*A Scandalous Book,* against the  
GOVERNMENT and MINISTRY of  
**NEW-ENGLAND.**

Written,

By one *ROBERT CALEF.*

detecting the Unparrall'd Malice & Falsehood;  
of the said Book;

AND

defending the Names of several particular  
Gentlemen, by him therein aspersed & abused.

---

Composed and Published by several Persons  
belonging to the Flock of some of the  
Injured Pastors, and concerned for  
their Just Vindication.

---

*Truth will Come off Conqueror.*

---

*Boston, N. E. Printed by T. Green, Sold by  
Nicholas Benez. 1701.*

## **Title Page**

### **Page 1**

SOME FEW REMARKS, UPON A Scandalous Book, against the GOVERNMENT and MINISTRY of NEW-ENGLAND. Written, By one ROBERT CALEF. Detecting the Unparrallel'd Malice and Falsehood. of the said Book; AND defending the Names of several particular Gentlemen, by him therein aspersed and abused. Composed and Published by several Persons belonging to the Flock of some of the Injured Pastors, and concerned for their Just Vindication. Truth will Come off Conqueror. Boston, N. E. Printed by T. Green, Sold by Nicholas Boone. 1701.

## **To the Christian Reader**

### **Page 2**

TO THE CHRISTIAN Reader. The False Narrations, and Odious Representations, contained in that Scandalous Book, written by Robert Calf, has made our worthy Pastors Obnoxious (for ought we know) to hard Censures, among an unguided multitude. We have little hopes of convicting any, who are so full fraughted with the Venome of that Book, as that no Evidence will avail, but in spite of all that is hitherto known, will still retain a Belief to the contrary: yet this we hope, that those who are not such grand Enemies to Truth, may hereby be satisfyed in those things which they have hitherto but doubted of; for want of which knowledge, they have been unable to defend those Faithful Servants of Christ. That is the End of this Book; That those who are well wishers to the Eminent Servants of Christ, and His People, may be able to oppose all gainsayers, who by their Ropaches, and Slanders, go about to render them Odious to the world; whereby they will be deprived of all their desired Opportunities to Serve God and his Faithful People. If this shall help any therein, we

### **Page 3**

shall obtain our desires, and have no cause to Repent that ever we spent our Time and Cost about it; But Rejoyce that ever we undertook this Task. Now that there may be no more Slandering and Reviling, and Reproaching one another, but that we may be all bound in the Bands of Unity, Singing the Song of the Glorious Angels above; Glory to God in the Highest, on Earth Peace, Good Will towards men: Is the hearty Desire and Prayer of those, who in the Name, at the Desire, and with the Consent, of many others, have put this Book into your Hands. Obadiah Gill John

Barnard John Goodwin William Robie Timothy Wadsworth Robert Cumbeý George Robinson.

## Section 1

### Page 4

SECT. I. NEW-ENGLAND was once a place, in which the Feet of them that brought the Good Tidings of the Gospel were beautiful. But there is now sprung up a Number, who seem to be of another Spirit: No wonder then if those who are Faithful to Christ and His Interest, are Reproached and Maligned by them that serve His greatest Enemy. It is an awful Symptom, of some sad thing near unto The Churches, when the most Faithful, and Painful Labourers among us in them, are bemired and bespattered by Ungodly men. But that God who said, Blessed are ye when men Revile you, and Persecute you, and speak all manner of Evil of you, falsely for my sake; will reward them. There is according to our esteem of it, a Libellous Book lately come unto this Countrey, which Book may truely be called, A Fire-brand thrown by a Mad-man; which is writ (with what help we know not) by one Robert Calef, who presumes to call himself Merchant of Boston; but we wish, Better Wares were vended, by

### Page 5

this Merchant. The Book is full as is thought by Good men, of Scurrilous Reflections on the Government, as well as the Ministers of the Countrey. And First, for the Government; the tendency of the Book is to perswade the People, that the Judges of the Land; are the Unjustest, Cruellest and most Blood-thirsty men; Our Wise men (sayes he) becoming Fools. What was done by them in the dark time of our Troubles from the Invisible World, all Honest men believe, they did in Conscience of the Oath of God upon them, and they followed unto the best of their Understanding, as we are informed, the Precedents of England and Scotland, and other Nations, on such a Dark and Doleful occasion. When they found the matter carried beyond the reach of Mortals, they stopt; and the Honourable Lieutenant Governour, Council and Assembly of the Province, in a Publick Proclamation for a Fast; called for the Prayers of the Countrey, That what soever mistakes on either hand have been fallen into, referring to the late Troubles raised among us by Satan, and his Instruments, through the awful Judgments of God, he would Humble us therefore, and Pardon us. After that those our Honourable Judges (fearing least wrong step; might have been taken) had thus set apart a Day for solemn Humiliation before the Lord, humbly Imploring

## Page 6

His Pardon for what might have been done amiss; for him to Repeat that matter, and set it out with imperfect Relations and odious Aggravations, thereby intending to fender the Land, and the Judges obnoxious (tho' all the Learning that he and wiser men than he, pretends unto, is insufficient to dive to the Bottom of the matter;) and for him to speak as he does of those Honourable Persons, (as you will find in his præface,) as men obstinate in an Error, and involved in the guilt of the Blood shed by Pagans and Papists before them: what shall we think of it, but that 'tis inhumane, and fit for none but a Servant of the worst Master? One would have thought, that the Fear of God (if he has any) should have darted that Scripture into his mind, (while compiling such a Pamphlet) Exod. 22. 28. Thou shalt not speak Evil of the Ruler of thy People. But then, for the Ministry; we do admire with what face he dares so wilfully to Reproach, and Libel the Servants of Christ? How dares he affirm (as p. the last, of his preface) That the Accusations from the Spectral sight, being the chief Evidence against those that Suffered, were upheld both by Magistrates and Ministers, so long as they apprehended themselves in no danger; and then, though they could Defend neither the Doctrine nor the Practice, yet none of them have in such a Publick manner, as the Case requires Testified against

## Page 7

either. 'Tis well known by those who 'have ever read over the Wonders of the Invisible World, Enchantments Encountred, p. 6. that the Judgment of the Ministers was, That the Dæmons might impose the Shapes of Innocent persons in their Spectral Exhibitions. And it was the advice of the Elders to the Governour and Council, in the beginning of the Salem Troubles, Express in such words as those, Ench. Enc. p. 15. That Presumptions whereupon persons may be Committed, and much more Convictions whereupon persons may be Condemned as guilty of Witchcrafts, ought certainly to be more Consider able, than barely the Accused persons being Represented by a Spectie, unto the afflicted, nor are alterations in the sufferers by a Look, or a Touch of the Accused, to be esteemed an Infallible evidence of Guilt, but frequently liable to be abused by the Devils Legerdemains. And a Book Composed by the Reverend Præsident of the Colledge, was afterwards Published for that purpose, whereunto, Fourteen Reverend Ministers set their hands. But this is not all, for the whole Body of the Ministers in the Countrey are charged, as Guilty of Sacrilege in the highest Degree, if not Direct Blasphemy, and Diabolical Wickedness. [p. 155.] Elsewhere

he vilely endeavours, to charge them with an Opinion, That there are more Almightyies than one, and that Satan is Almighty, and can do what he pleases. He insinuates, that our

## Page 8

Reverend Ministers make the Devil an Independent Being, and (as he sayes) Consequently a God. An abominable Charge! Certainly he was altogether unmindful of that Scripture, Deut. 33. 11. Of Levi, he said, Lord smite thro' the Loins of them that rise up against him. That there should be any in the midst of us, that by published Libels go about thus to render the worthy Pastors of the Flocks of Christ odious to them, is matter of Grief unto us; and no doubt but 'tis so to all Good men. It was highly rejoycing to us, when we heard that our Book-sellers were so well acquainted with the Integrity of our Pastors, as not one of them would admit of any of those Libels to be vended in their shops. And it was our Hope that a further Testimony would have been born by others against such pernicious attempts to blow up the Religion of God among us. But the doing of a piece of Justice to our own Reverend and Faithful Pastors, whom Satan hath singled out (by this Instrument) above others to spit his Venome upon, is that which in a more especial manner has obliged us thus to appaer Publickly. These worthy persons are the main Butts set up for the Devil to shoot his Arrows at, especially now by a Volumn consisting of most Lying abuses, and aspersions. We have no need to wonder at their not taking the pains to vindicate themselves from these Injuries, or give any other

## Page 9

but, The Lord Rebuke thee. Contempt is the best Answer, and a Person so inconsiderable is not worthy to be regarded by them: But the Lord will requite them Good for the Cursing of every Shimli. They will be the more Loved and vallued by all Wise and Good men, for thus suffering the contradiction of Sinners But it has been the desire of many of our Godly Neighbours, that some of us, who do belong unto their Flock, would publickly appear in the Vindication of those Injured Servant of Christ: The motion was not made unto us, by either of our Pastors, and (though it is to them that we are beholden for Information Relating to certain matters Of Fact yet) they are neither of them the Authors, of this Composure. For there are many belonging to our Congregation, that are as fit, and as able to write Books, as he who has been the occasion of our undertaking this Task, and several of them have been ready to assist us. And we have good Grounds to hope, that the hearts of all Sincere Christians will rejoyce to see any people so ready to Vindicate their Injured Pastors. But we

have grounds to fear, lest the Grand Enemy of mankind should hinder our Childrens Conversion to God, and obtaining Salvation by the painful endeavours of our Faithful Teachers; and lest the Holy and useful Books, Composed by their Elaborate

## Section 2

### Page 10

endeavours to serve the Interest of Christ, (which the Lord has Blessed for the seasoning of thousands of persons with good Thoughts, from one end of the Land unto the other,) should loose their Relish, Power, and Efficacy among the Churches abroad, unless something to defeat the Designs of that Evil One, in the Venemous Book, now Published against them, be performed by us. SECT. II. Is there any among the Children of men, that have Sold themselves to serve the Interest of Satan to purpose? Let it be their Study by their Slander's to Blast the Reputation of those, in whom the Honour of God, and of His Religion, and the Salvation of Souls is much concerned. This we take to be the Grand Aim and End of all that Robert Calef can call his own, throughout his whole Treatise. And now, vent thy malice; speak what thou hast to Accuse them of; they shall come off with flying Colours. We will a little first, lay open a few of those many Lyes, and infamous Reflections, and defaming Invectives contained in the treatise under our present notice, against Mr. Mather the Elder. The Reverend Mr. Increase Mather is Charged with Unfaithfulness, in his Negotiation

### Page 11

in England, as Agent on the behalf of this Colony: in p. 95. 'tis said, The Agents did not all of them Act according to the Mind and Interest of those that impowred them, which is manifest by their not Acting joyntly in what they did. Herein he not only Reflects upon that well known, and eminent Servant of Christ and His People, but also upon Sir Henry Ashurst, a worthy Gentleman, who did (as we are well assured) with all the care and pains imaginable, seek the Good of New-England, and thereby has laid us under endless obligations of Gratitude. We hope, the Friends of New-England, will not think that all persons will treat them so ill, as this man endeavours to do. 'Tis as certain to us, as any such things can be, that neither Sir Henry nor Mr. Mather, Acted in the Publick Affairs of this Colony, any otherwise then according to the best advice of the best and wisest Friends to New-England, then residing in London with whom they alwayes consulted. But if Mr, Mather's words are not to be taken in his own case, then take the Testimony of the

Reverend Mr. Mead, in a Letter to a Gentle man in Boston, well known to us, which runs thus, Mr. Mather has deserved highly of New-England, for the unfainting Diligence, and indefatigable Endeavours, he has shewed in his Agency

## Page 12

for that people, and while some with you may perhaps wonder that he has obtained no more, we here, who have the advantage of a better Prospect, wonder that he hath done so much. And if men reward not his great Work, and Labour of Love, I am sure God will. What he has done has not been without the Counsel and Advice of the best Friends, that Countrey has in this, both Parliament men, Lawyers, and Ministers. And to be thankful for what you have for the present, is the way to get what you want hereafter. Thus writes that Eminent person, who is now gone to a better World. To Confirm this, we have in our hands a Printed Extract of a Letter from the Right Worshipful Sir Henry Ashurst, to the General Assembly in Boston, whose words are; I have not for above Twelve Months troubled you with any of my Letters because I knew my worthy Friend Mr. Mather, did not omit any opportunity of acquainting you with every thing, wherein your Interest was concerned. I shall not much enlarge upon the Services that Mr. Mather hath done, for you have his true Character sent you by the Reverend Dr. Bates and others, the most Eminent Ministers in and about this Town. But I am sure, he has been Faithful to your Interests and diligent and unwearied in your Service, with the neglect of his Health: he hath lived here for You, and deserveth the greatest marks of your Favour

## Page 13

you can bestow on him. Mr. Mather and myself, in transacting your affairs, did not leave any may unattempted, that the wisest Friends we could Consult with could direct us unto. When the King was Petitioned to make alter at ons in your Settlement, and to appoint a Governour, and other General Officers, we then joyned all our Interest together, and obtained the naming of every one of them, and other Priviledges that are not Granted to any other Plantations. None have been more Industrious by all possible means than Mr. Mather, and my self, to have obtained your Old Charter. I hope Mr. Mather will do me that Justice, to assure you, that I have never omitted any opportunity of serving you to the utmost of my Power. Thus that worthy Gentleman. However, If this will not suffice, we can produce a Letter Subscribed by Thirteen Eminent Non-conformist Ministers in London. It is as follows. To the much Honoured General Court Assembled at Boston in New-England. Much Honoured



Gentlemen. "The restoring your Charter, upon which the Security and Publick Good of your Colony depends, we Congratulate with as joyful Affections, as with tender Resentments we Condoled the deprivation of it. When your

#### Page 14

and our State was in appearance desolate beyond humane Counsel and Power to redress, then Deliverance came from above: and in our deep Darkness, the Day-spring from an High visited us. We most humbly Admire and Adore the Glorious Author of that Blessed work: And we cannot but pay our most Grateful Respects, and Dutiful Subjection to His Chosen Servant, our Sovereign, the happy Instrument of it. All the Colours of Language are not lively and grateful enough to express His benefits to us. He has the Honour of Establishing our Religion at home, and gives us hopes of Restoring it abroad, in places from whence it has been Unrighteously and Cruelly expelled. Some among you may wonder there has been so long delay before your Charter was finisht, but if you consider the Torrent of affairs in the Court after the Late Revolution, it will lessen the wonder. The Truth is, your affairs were so Difficult and Thorny, that the rare union of the Wisdom of the Serpent, and the Innocence of the Dove, was requisite in the Commissioners managing of it. A peremptory Refusal of any Charter, but of an uniform Tenor with the first, had been like too strong a Medicine, that Exasperates the Disease instead of Curing it. In affairs of great importance,

#### Page 15

'tis wisdom maturely to deliberate, and Consider conditional events, and by the foresight of Inconveniencies that will otherwise follow, to accept of such things as are best with respect to their Circumstances. We must therefore give this true Testimony of our much Esteemed and Beloved Brother, Mr. Increase Mather, That with inviolate Integrity, excellent Prudence, and unfainting Diligence, he hath managed the great business committed to his Trust As he is instructed in the School of Heaven, to Minister in the affairs of the Soul, so he is furnished with a Talent to transact affairs of State. His proceedings have been with that Caution and Circumspection, as is correspondent to the weight of his Commission; he with Courage, and Constancy has pursued the noble scope of his employment, and understanding the true moment of things, has preferred the Publick Good to the vain conceits of some, that more might have been obtained if peremptorily insisted on; Considering open opposition and secret arts that have been used to frustrate the best endeavours for the Interest of New-England,



the happy issue of these things is superiour to our Expectations. Your present Charter secures Liberty and Property, the fairest flowers of the Civil State:

#### Page 16

and which is incomparably more valuable, it secures the enjoyment of the Blessed Gospel in its purity and freedome. Altho' there is a restraint of your power in some things that were granted in the former Charter, yet there are more ample Priviledges in other things that may be of perpetual advantage to the Colony. We doubt not but your Faithfull Agent will receive a Gracious reward above: And we hope his successfull Service will be welcomed with your entire approbation, and grateful acceptance. We now with ardent affections recommend our Dear Brother to the Divine mercy, that thro' such dangerous Seas he may safely arrive at his desired place: And we earnestly pray, that the Blessings of Heaven may be alwayes upon your Colony; that by the Light and Power of the Gospel, the Prince of Darkness may be expelled from his ancient Dominions; and the Kingdome of our Saviour, may be Established and Enlarged, by the Accession of the American Heathen to be His Inheritance." Much Honoured Gentlemen, We are, Your very Humble, and Faithful Servants 3 London, Octob. 17. 1691. William Bates. Thomas Woodcock.

#### Page 17

Matthem Mead. John James. Matthem Barker. Samuel Annesly. Richard Stretton. George Griffiith. Vincent Allop. Richard Mapo. John How. Jaac Chauncy. John Duick. Now if Mr. Mather in his Negotiation for his Countrey, acted Faithfully according to his judgement, and if the wisest Friends New-England had in England thought, as he did, as is abundantly attested by persons of great Eminency why has this Impertinent man impeached his Fidelity? Is it possible that a man should have more and greater Testimonies to the Faithful discharge of his Duty in seeking the Good of this Countrey, to the utmost of his ability? Robert Calef dares not say here is not sufficient Witnesses. No, but this he does. He gives a Kick at these great men: for he sayes [p. 150.] Mr. Mather got several Non-conformist Ministers to give him a Testimonial, or Letters of Commendation for his great service. What great Folly is it to cast such Reflections and Contumelies? See both the Folly and Falshood of it. What if Mr Mather had done so? where would have been the damage of it? Is not he guilty of great Folly, to think that a Number of as Godly, Discreet, and Excellent

persons as any in the City of London, would set their Hands to they knew not what, and so positively assert a thing they were ignorant of? However, 'tis altogether False; Mr. Mather (as he has affirmed to us never had such a thought come into his mind, nor it may be never would, as to have asked such Testimonials, had not a person of Quality that was his particular Friend, desired that Dr Bates, might draw up such a Letter, and that great Doctor, (when he had well weighed and considered our Charter) most readily did it. And the Doctor presented this Letter thus drawn up by himself, to such Ministers as he thought fit, and. Ten of them subscribed it, before ever Mr. Mather spoke a word to them about it. But who shall be Judge, whether the Reverend Increase Mather Faithfully served the interest of his Countrey or no? Shall this Calf be Judge, or the People themselves? We think it most fitting the People should be Judge; and they shall be so. When the greatest General Court that ever was in New-England, Assembled at Boston in the year 1692. Mr. Mather (as he informs us) waited on them with the Instructions which were sent to him at London as Agent of the Colony; and on June the 9th. every one of the Instructions were read by him, before the whole Assembly; where he declared to their satisfaction, how to the utmost of his power, he had punctually observed

every one of them. And on June 24th. Mr. Bond then Speaker of the Representatives, did in the Name of the whole House, return him hearty Thanks, for his Unwearied and Faithful endeavours to serve his Countrey: he also added, that they were sensible, it was their Duty to reward those his Faithful endeavours, but by reason of the Expensive War they then Laboured under, they could not perform what they were willing to do on that account; Whereupon, Mr. Mather (using the words of the Apostle,) said, He sought not theirs but them, in what he had endeavoured and performed for them: and ad ded, He was willing to wait for a Recompence in another World. As for Robert Calfs saying, The Agents could not all act for the Interest of them that employed them, because they did not Act joyntly; It is both Foolish and False. Might they not all Act for the same Good End, and yet have their various thoughts abouts the Best Means to be used for it? Might they not all of them to the utmost of their power, Labour to obtain the Old Charter, and all the priviledges contained in it, with additional ones, and yet when they saw their hopes frustrated, differ in their apprel ensions, what was best

now to be done? Might not the want of certain Great Priviledges (of the Old Charter in the New One) cause some of them to think, it best

## Page 20

to take nothing at all, and yet others think it better taking up with Half a loaf than no Bread, and so get what possibly they could obtain for the present, and wait the issue of Providence for the obtaining of more: and yet all of them sincerely and strenuously press after the best Good and Interest of them that impowred them? All the Agents are most worthy Persons, and every one of them hath deserved great acknowledgments from this Province, on account of their Faithful Endeavours to Serve the Publick Interest. It is not worth our while to take notice of every thing this Calf sayes, 'tis often so impertinent; However, we will say lay open one thing more. He sayes, [p. 147.] that Mr. Mather procured a Charter for Sir William to be Governour, and himself Established Præsident of the Colledge. Can there be greater Nonsense mixed with Malice! How could this be, when Mr. Mather had been Præsident of the Colledge Ten Years before Sir William came to be Governour? And it is well known that the Corporation, and all persons concerned in the Colledge, and the whole General Court did urge Mr. Mather to accept of the Præsidentship of the Colledge Twenty Years ago; and though for diverse years he acted as Præsident, yet he refused to be Established in the place he

## Page 21

then managed, but was active in causing another to be Chosen who Resided there about a Year, and then went to the Heavenly World. After that, the General Court and Corporation did again apply themselves to him, thinking none so fit to undertake the Care and Inspection of that Society, on which depends the well-being of New-England, as HE was, which accordingly he undertook in the Year 1684. and ever since he has had that Charge imposed on him, though there are Witnesses enough, he hath Frequently and Earnestly desired to be eased thereof. Spit on, Cal; thou shalt be but like the Viper on Pauls hand, easily shaken off, and without any damage to the Servant of the Lord. What more has he to say? Why this, That Mr. Mather should not have accepted the Charter, but (p.150) have stayed until His Majesties return from Flanders. Upon this Article we enquired of the Reverend Mr. Mather, concerning that matter, and received from him under his hand as followeth; 'When the King was pleased to give a positive Command that the Charter of New-England should be dispatched, it was not for the Agents to say, it

shall not be so. True it is, that all the Agents when they saw what Minute, would be inserted in the Charter, were desirous of a delay, until the Kings happy

## Page 22

return to England. And I may without vanity say, no man laboured to have it so, more then my self. I prayed Arch-Bishop Tillotson to intercede with the Queen for this favour to us, who at my request did so. Moreover, I drew up several Reasons against that which in the Minutes of the New-Charter is most grievous to us; which were by Sir Henry Ashurst, and my self, delivered to His Majesties Attourney General, on July, 24. 1691. and which I did also send to my Lord Sidney, one of His Majesties principal Secretaries of State, then with the King in Flanders. I now thought that there would be no further proceedings about the Charter for New-England before His Majesties return. Physicians advised me to go into the Countrey and use the Mineral waters for the recovery of my impaired Health. Before I had been there Three weeks, I was to my surprize sent for to London, with information, that the King had signifi d His Royal Pleasure to the Earle of Nottingham, that there should be a procedure with a Charter for the Massachusetts Colony, according to the Minutes that the Lords of the Committee for Plantations had agreed to, notwithstanding the Objections of the agents to the Contrary. A certain Person then in the world, gave out that I was imposed on, and made to believe that such a Signification of His

## Page 23

'Majesties Pleasure was sent to the Secretary of State, when there was no such thing. I therefore prayed the Earle of Nottingham (who was then the principal S cretary of State) to be so kind, as to order his Clerk to give me a Copy of what the King had ordered should be done, which his Lordship was pleased to gratify me in, and I still have the Original Copy written with the hand of his Lordships Clerk, by me. It is in these words.' Extract of a Letter from my Lord Sidney to my Lord Nottingham. Dated Court Aug. 10. 1691. Mr Zord I have received your Lordships of July 31. and have shewed it the King, and the Enclosed order upon the Report of the Committee of Plantations, touching the Minutes for a Charter for the Massachusetts Colony, wherein His Majesties further Pleasure is desired. I am now commanded by the King to let your Lordship know that he doth approve of what the Committee hath done in that matter, and can by no means admit of the Objections of the Agents of the said Colony, and therefore would have your Lordship proceed accordingly. This is a true Copy compared with the Original. Richard Warre.

'Now let the world Judge, yea and Robert Calef's Conscience (if it be not Seared) judge, whether he has done well to endeavour to Blemish my Reputati on in Print, by insinuating as if I had done amiss, in not stopping the proceedings in the Charter for this Province, when it was not in my power to do it. Yet nevertheless, after this I obtained those clauses in the Charter, which Confirm all donations to Schools of Learning, and all Grants of Lands, by former General Courts, and c. to be inserted in the present Charter: for which better men than Robert Calef are of Opinion, that the Countrey owes me Thanks. I shall further add, that after the Charter was finished, several Right Honourable Persons said to me, they were glad of what was gained, and that they could assure me, that if the proceedings had been delayed, until the Kings return, more would not have been obtained. I hear that some of Robert Calefs, Abettors whisper, that the Reverend Ministers at London, Repented of their writing such a Letter of Attestation to my Fidelity, and that in a Fast, they bewailed their Sin in that matter. It must needs be Malice that has invented such a Ridiculous Story. Had it been True, it is very Strange that none of them would

signify it to me, but the contrary. Part of this, was whispered Seven Years ago, when in Print I Charged the Authors of that report, to be Forgers of Lies. It was particularly whispered, that the Reverend Mr. Quick Repented of his Subscribing the Letter Whereupon, I wrote to him concerning it, and Mr. Quick returned an Answer in these words.' You write of some persons, who have Reported my Repentance for Subscribing your Attestation Sir, I have not the Command of other mens Tongues As for W. he is a man to whom I am an utter Stranger, having never heard his Name before I read it in your Letter. Another and I, had some Discourse about you. The Sum of my Answer to them was this, I knew you be a Learned and Prudent man, and believe you to be one Fearing God, and therefore dure not Credit what any one should say of you in your Absence. And I pray you let not other mens Reports of me, at so great a distance Credited against me. I Subscribed the Letter Volunttrily, and to the best of my Understanding Judiciously, and Conscientiously; as I Believe and all those other Reverend Ministers, who gave you their Hands : and I know nothing to the contrary, why I should not joyn in such Good Company Thus writes the Reverend Mr. Quick.

'Moreover, when the Famous Dr Annesly was informed, that some Reported as if he Repented of his having Set his Hand to that Letter, he replied, with some warmth of Spirit;' If there be any need of it, I will Set both my Hands to it : For Mr. Mather did well, when he could not possibly obtain more for his Countrey, to take up with the best he could get. 'I am also told, that there are some men, who formerly had no great kindness for Robert Calef, but are now, because of his reviling me and my Son, (which not a little gratifies the Enemies to the Holy Churches of New-England) become his great Friends; and that these complain, that I spent the Countrey a great deal of Money during my Agency in their behalf. These little men know not what it is to attend in the Courts of Kings, for Four Years together : if they did, they would not make that objection. And sure I am, that when I did at the desire of many principal persons in the Countrey, undertake a Voyage for England in April 1688. People in this Province, would gladly have given Ten times more than what I Expended in their Service, on condition they might have Restored and Confirmed to them, what now they enjoy: yea, if it had been but in

## Page 27

one Article of it. But besides this, I may truly affirm that in effect, I served the Countrey on Free Cost. For I never demanded the least Farthing as a recompence, for the Time I spent in attending on their Affairs, but instead thereof, I procured in Donations for the Publick, besides the Priviledges of the Charter it self, which, though not so great as I would have had, and as I would gladly have parted with all I have in this world to have purchased, are greater than any other Plantations besides New-England enjoys : I say, besides these things, I procured in Donations to the Province and the Colledge,) at least Nine Hundred Pounds more than all the Expences of my Agency came to. This being plain matter of Fact, which the whole General Assembly once had laid before them, I suppose all Reasonable men, will own, That Reproaches cast on me, for my Expensiveness in the Publick Service, are most Ungrateful and Unworthy.' Thus hath he answered our Request unto him; and now Judge, whether Mr Mather were to blame in these matters. The Author of the Scurrilous Book now need not to wonder, that Mr. Mather should Print a Brief Narrative of his Negotiation in England : He had before sent a written Copy thereof to New-England,

## Page 28



which was read in the General Court, (as we are informed) unto their great Satisfaction. Yet he did not without grounds Conjecture, there might be other persons in the world, of the same Kidney with this Calf; and therefore, that so (especially in case of his own Mortallity at Sea) his Friends might do him Justice, it was great Prudence in him to Print a convenient Number of Copies of the said Narrative. The Adversary, on this occasion goes on to fling at Mr. Mather. A Letter he sent to one in England, at the same time with himself, who formerly belonged to the North-Church in Boston, which Letter [he sayes] some call a Bull. But what matters it, if they call it so, and a Calf too? Since that, the person he mentions is returned to New-England, and he did acknowledge his Error before Mr. Mather and one of the Deacons of the North-Church. Whereupon Mr. Mather did as became a Disciple of Christ, Forgive him, and declared himself Reconciled unto him. Doubtless this Weaver wants work, or he would not have troubled the world with such Trifles. And now, for a closure, sayes he, (p. 151.) that Mr. Mather deserves as much Thanks, as Dr. Sharp did when sent by the Presbytery of Scotland, to procure the Settlement of their Kirk, and c. who (by what we have heard of that story) to get himself made a Bishop, did what he could to undermine the Presbyterian Government.

## Page 29

Certainly, Satan himself could not but blush to say, that ever Mr. Mather went to Destroy the Government of New-England, either as to their Civil or Ecclesiastical Constitution. Robert Calef himself, cannot but say, (p. 151.) That the present Charter of New-England is truely Valuable, as containing in it peculiar Priviledges, which abundantly engage this People to pay the Tribute of Thankfulness to His Majesty. With what face then can he insinuate that no Thanks are due to the Instruments of obtaining such a Valuable Charter, and so many peculiar Priviledges? Surely he was besides himself, when he wrote such things as these. Is it not well known, that when our former Charter was Quo Warrantoed, in the Reign of K. Charles II. then at the request of the Selectmen in Boston, Mr. Mather did appear at a Town-Meeting (though he does not use to be at such Meetings,) and did Encourage and Excite them, to stand by their Charter-Priviledges, and not to give away what was the Inheritance of their Fathers. He could not but be sensible, that by appearing so openly in such a cause, he ventured very far, but being satisfied that he was called of God to do what he did, he went to it with a Chearful Heart. Whereupon (as we have



heard, and no doubt it is true) complaints were entred against him in that Kings Court, for his withstanding their designs.

## Page 30

And since the Condemnation of that Charter, has he not laboured with might and main, that the Judgment issued against it might be reversed? Did not his earnest Endeavours, with leading Parliament-men, procure the passing of a Vote in the House of Commons, declaring that the taking away of the Charter of New-England, was Illegal and a Grievance? Whereupon, a Bill was passed in the House for the Restauration of it? When he had the Honour to speak to the King, was it not his Humble Request to His Majesty, that all the Charter-priviledges of New-England, might be Restored to them? Did he not Humbly Petition the Queens Majesty, to intercede with the King for His Royal Favour herein, who was most Graciously pleased to assure him, that Her Majesty would do so? These things are no secrets, every body has opportunity to know the Truth of them. We are well assured that Mr. Mather never gave away any Priviledges of the Countrey, but instead of that, was an happy Instrument of regaining some very Great Priviledges, which were unjustly taken from us: And as in the Prosecution thereof, he did (as the Honourable Sir Henry Ashurst tells the Assembly) impair his Health, so we believe he whould not have counted his Life Dear to him, would that have obtained what he Zealously endeavoured

## Section 3

## Page 31

for us. Is there any man that has been more Faithful to the Churches of New-England? Has he not for these many Years, both at home and abroad, with Tongue and Pen, to his utmost, Defended these Churches, and their Government? What reason then, has this man to speak so Falsely, and Maliciously, of him? But the Faithfullest Servants of Christ, must look to be Reviled and Reproached, for so was their MASTER before them. SECT. III. As it is observed, the Lord has Remarkably joyned the two Mr. Mathers in serving His Churches, so tis observable, that the Enemy cannot but joyn them in his Malignant Calumnies and Reproaches; and it is but Justice for us, to joyn them in our Vindicating of them. Our Mr. Mather the Younger, must not be troubled, if Ill-men, that Revile his most Reverend Father, shall give him a proportionable share in their malice. There are more Fiery Darts shot at this worthy Person, by the hand of Robert Calef, than at any one; but if he will do as he uses to do, his

Prayer, and Faith, and Patience, and Holy Conversation, will soon quench them. However, it is our Duty to Vindicate

## Page 32

him, if he think it needless to Vindicate himself: Though indeed he has a witness for him in the Consciences of all that in the least measure Know him. For our parts, we cannot but Bless God that ever we knew him. We shall but displease him, and it may be some will think it flattery, if we should pretend to write the Character which this worthy man deserves; those that are even his Enemies, being Judges He was Born and Bred in this Town, where he has for more than Twenty Years together, been a Publick Preacher of the Gospel. It was a comfortable thing to Samuel, that he was able to say, I have walked before you, from my Childhood until now; and that he could then appeal to them, to tell how he had walked. So may Mr. Cottou Mather. And we do verily believe, there is not so much as one man, that has any knowledge of him, but what will own, that they look upon him to be a worthy Good man, a Scholar, and a Gentleman. who would not willingly write a thing that is False, or do any Ill thing upon any Terms; and that he spends his Life in Studies, that he might do Good to all sorts of men : and that he can be Courteous, and full of Kindness towards Good People, that be not of his own perswasion, as well as those that be. If we be not mis-informed, Calef himself does confess as much as this

## Page 33

comes to; and others that are displeased at Mr. Mather for his being so significant, in the Service of the Churches, yet when they are out of their angry fits, will confess the same. As for the wrongs done by Robert Calef unto him, some of us address'd him to give us something under his own Hand, that might clear up the Truth unto the Churches. And he has favoured his Friends, with the following Letter. SIRS, 'Must I then do you and my self the Justice of Answering your desires, to have under my Hand a brief account of these matters, wherein I have had the Honour (for I may count it so,) to be after an horrid manner, aspersed and abused, by the Libels of Robert Calef? Although, 'tis almost as needless a thing as can be done, yet it shall be done: at least for the Chief of them. I remember, that when this miserable man sent unto an Eminent Minister in the Town, a Libellous Letter (which he has now also Published in his Volumn of Impertinences) reflecting both on a Judicious Discourse written by him, and on the Holy proposals made by the Præsident and Fellows of Harvard-Colledge, about recording

of Remarkable-Providences, and when he demanded and expected an Answer to his Follies, that Reverend person only said, Go tell him, That the Answer to him and his Letter is in the Twenty-sixth of the Proverbs, and the Fourth. When likewise, he sent about unto all the Ministers a Libellous Letter against my self, falsely Charging me with writing in a Manuscript of mine, Ten Articles (which are of his own drawing up) whereof the chief are of his own pure Invention, there was not one of all those Reverend Persons, who thought him worthy of an Answer. And now his Book is come abroad, I cannot hear (and many observe the like) of so much as one Vertuous and Sensible man, but let their opinions about the Salem Troubles, be what they will, they detest it, as, a Vile Book; as being an intire Libel upon the whole Government and Ministry in the Land; yea, they think it beneath a Minister of the Gospel to bestow the Pains of an Answer upon it. The Book, serves but as an Engine, to discover (by their approbation of it,) a few persons in the Land that will distinguish themselves by an Exalted Malignity. The reason that made me unwilling to trust any of my writings in the hands of this man, was, because I saw the Weaver (though he presumes to call himself a Merchant) was a stranger to all the Rules

of Civility; and I foresaw, that I should be served, as, now I find. He has been so Uncivil, as to Print a Composure of mine, utterly without and against my Consent; but the Good Providence of God has therein overruled his Malice : for if that may have Impartial Readers, he will have his Confutation, and I my perpetual Vindication. What occasion for any further Answer? The Antisemprural Doctrines Espoused by this man, do also call for no further Answer; for a certain Scotch-man (one Stuart) of no very great Circumstances aboard one of our Frigats then in our Harbour sent him Two Letters, which he has been so silly as to insert in his wretched Volumn; and those Two Letters are Penned with so much Ingenuity, as for ever to leave him and all the Sons of the Blasphemous Bekke without any Excuse. Only I cannot but observe, that although the absurd man be one of such Extream Unreasonableness, that some of his best Friends have told me that they have long ago signified unto him, that for that cause, they did not wonder, that no Minister did care to be concerned with him, and upon some Experiments I have seen, it seems impossible an Argument should enter into him, yet he counts it Answer enough not only unto any Argument, but also unto the fullest Evidence under the hands

of the most Conscientious and understanding Witnesses,. That be (forsooth) can't com. prehend it, or won't entertain it. I affirm, that this is the strongest Argument brought by him in his whole Book; There is a certain Weaver that won't Believe it. To him then I owe no Answer, but what an Arch-Angel has taught us to give him. However, to You that are my Particular Friends, I may offer a little further Armour, wherein you may at any Time, if you think it worth the while, appear for my Defence. The wrongs that he does me are Numerous, yea, Numberless; he can scarce mention me, without a Lye about me. I shall only single out a few that are more Notorious, and give you but a brief touch upon them: from them you shall Judge of the rest. His first and main design, is to render me odious unto the Countrey, as being one chief Abettor of that opinion, That the Devils cannot afflict in the Shape of an Innocent person; and as being an Inciter of the Judges, to the Conviction of Witchcrafts upon that opinion. It is very certain, that his Conscience must needs tell him, this is a most Lying Accusation. For in my Book of Memorable Providences, which I writ before the troubles

at Salem, and even before I was so fully acquainten with the Wiles of Satan, for my saying of which, on a certain occasion, he flouts at me) I have a whole paragraph to caution against accounting a Bewitched persons pretending to see an Apparition of such or such an one, an Argument of their being Naughty People. And some of the chief Ministers in this Land, favoured that Book with their Attestation, and when it was Re-printed in another Land, no less a man than Mr, Baxter, did recommend it with a Præface, as being likely to do great Service to the Christian Religion; however, my friend Calef now Derides it. And in my Book of the Invisible World, written in the highest Ferment of those Troubles, I have many Pages to diswade from reliance on the Representations made unto the Afflicted, and bespeak all possible Compassion and Charity for such as had been so Represented in the Glasses of the Lying Spirit: which Book was not only ordered by the Governour, to be Published, with Terms of the highest Respect, but also was Perused and Approved by as Eminent persons as any in the Countrey, who were sufficiently dissatisfied at the things then a doing. Moreover, when the Ministers presented unto the Governour and Council, their advice against making the Spectral Exhibitions to be so much as a Presumption

of Witchcraft, it was my poor Hand which drew up that advice, and my Heart was alwayes in it. It may be no man living ever had more people under Preternatural and astonishing Circumstances, cast by the Providence of God, into his more peculiar care, then I have had; but the Name of no one Good person in the world, ever came under any Blemish, that I know of, by means of any Afflicted person, that fell under my particular care; yea, no Man, Woman or Child, ever came into any trouble, for the sake of any that were Afflicted, after I had once began to look after them. And whereas my Buffeter sayes, That His Excellency, the Governours Pardoning the Condemned persons, was not only without but also directly against his Pastors advice; All the Ministers then in the Neighbourhood, will bear witness for me, that they know this to be a Falshood. And after the Storm was raised at Salem, I did my self offer to provide Meat, Drink, and Lodging, for no less than Six of the Afflicted, that so an Experiment might be made, whether Prayer with Fasting, upon the removal of those miserables one from another, might not put a period unto the trouble then arising, without giving the Civil Authority, the trouble of prosecuting the methods of the Law on that occasion. You'll say, how came it then

Page 39

to pass, that many people took up another Notion of of me? Truely, Satan knows. Perhaps 'twas because I thought it my Duty alwayes to speak of the Honourable Judges with as much Honour as I could; (a Crime which I am generally Taxed for, and for which I have been finely requited!) this made people, who Judge of things at a Distance, to dream that I approved of all that was done. Perhaps also my Disposition to avoid Extreame, as 'tis said, he that Feareth God shall come out of them, causeth me generally to be obnoxious unto the Violent in all parties. Or, perhaps my great Adversary alwayes had certain people full of Robert Calefs Malignity, to serve him with Calumnies and Reproaches. In prosecution of this design, he formed a Scandalous Libel against both my Father and my self, pretending to relate what passed in a Visit, which we made unto a poor Energumen in our Flock. Those men have put off all Humanity who do not abhor such a Villanous thing, as the Publishing of that Libel: For the man had been sufficiently Certified that there were almost as many Lyes as Lines in it. There is hardly any thing more Unpardonable in his whole Volumn than these Libels, wherein he Charges us, with Speaking what we never spoke, and not only

Page 40

leaves out the main things that we did speak, (especially, in our Charging the poor Creature that she should rather Dye, than Accuse any people on the account of her seeing their Spectres,) but also he makes people believe, that our Intention was to procure Accusations; Yea, he tries to make them also believe something or other of us that is Base, and which he himself lately owned, that he did not in the least Believe himself. And his Printing my Letter herewithal, can only serve to shew, the Height of his own Resolved and Consummate Impiety His Malice (like that of him, whose Instrument he has herein made himself) has here gone beyond his Wit. He could not easily have inserted a thing more likely to render his Book Abominable to all that have the least Christianity in them. And I believe, there is not one Christian but what would think of it with Indignation, that when Ministers of the Gospel Faithfully and Carefully discharge their Duty in their Visits to the Miserable in their Flocks, little Bits, and Scraps, and Shreds of their discourse (carried away perhaps by some Idle Eves droppers) should be basely tack'd together, to render them Contemptible; and many Falshoods, yea and Smutty ones too, and such as none but a Coal fetch'd from Hell could could have suggested, be added for the Blackening of them.

Page 41

It were enough to procure me the Friendship and esteem of any men, that have the least grain of Honesty in them, if I had it not before, to see such a Man and such a Book treat me with such Brutish Malignity. However, I am verily perswaded, that the Holy Lord, whose we are, and whom we serve, will at some time or other make this man a Mggor Mssabib, for this his deliberate wickedness. I will say no more of it, but leave it in those hands, which alone will do right unto us. About the Troubles which we have had from the Invisible World, I have at presem nothing to offer you; but that I believe they were too Dark, and too Deep for an ordinary Comprehension: and it may be Errors on both Hands, have attended them which will never be understood until the Day, when Satan shall be Bound after another manner then he is at this Day. But for my own part, I know not that ever I have advanced any opinion in the matter of Witchcraft, but what all the Ministers of the Lord, that I know of in the world, whether English, or Scotch, or French or Dutch (and I know many) are of the same opinion with me. I'll dismiss the matter with one fresh piece of History, and leave you to Think wherefor I report it.

Page 42

In the Year, 1698. my Reverend Friend Mr. Thomas Jolly, one of the most Holy Servants that the Lord Jesus Christ has upon Earth, and an Aged and Famous Minister of the Gospel, Published an Account of a certain Demoniac (one Richard Dugdale) which had lately been at Surey in his Neighbourhood. In that Account, among abundance of prodigious Things which are Sworn by many Credible men, before the Lord Willoughby, and other Justices of the Peace; 'tis particularly Sworn, That the Young man, or the Demon in him, often told Secret and Future Things which no Mortal could have told, and would speak Languages which the Young man had never Learnt: That the Young man being inordinately set upon Dancing, the Demon that entred into him, would made him Dance on his Knees his Toes never touching the ground, for a long while together; That the Young man would be so heavy, that Six or Seven strong men could not lift him, and presently again so light, that One man with his Hand would lift him Three Quarters of a Yard high, and hold him a long while, and find him no heavier, then his Hat, or his Cane: That something like a Mouse appeared about him, and within him, running up and down under his Cloathes, and the Imp sometimes

#### Page 43

like the Bigness of a little Dog in his Bed; and Voices were heard coming from it. These and many more Astonishing Things, continued for a Year together; and there were Thousands of Spectators, that came from all Quarters to be Witnesses of those Things. The Non-Conformist Ministers, and other Christians, in the Vicinity, (especially Mr. Jolly) kept many Dayes of Prayer with Fasting on this occasion; the Records whereof, he has Transcribed from his Diary into his Printed History. After all, the Young man was delivered; but as he was a very Vicious Fellow before his Possession, so he was not much mended after his Deliverance. When the Tragedy was over, one Zachary Taylor, Printed a Virulent Book, (Just like our Calefs) which affirmed unto the Nation, That the the whole Business of Dugdale, was a Cheat, and a Sham, and a Combination of the Roman-Catholick and the Non-Conformists, to put a Trick upon the Nation: and Reviled that Reverend man of God, Mr. Jolly, as Guilty of much Falsity, and Forgery, and Blasphemy, and Cursing, and as designing to hurt the Cause of Revealed Religion, and as worthy to have his Tongue bored through with an hot Iron, and other Infamous passages, that can't be Numbred. The Good Old Saint, published a Vindication of himself; (which is to be Sold

#### Page 44



at our Book-sellers) and I shall now recite but this one passage from it: 'The Ministers of Christ, under the Cross, whoever they be, may comfort themselves, in being made Conformable to their Lord and Master, when their Sayings and Doings are so perverted, when they are Laden with mock Tules, and Scourged by the lose Tongues of others, who yet have their Hands bound in some measure, as the High-Priests and Elders, had by a Superior Power. 'For fear I should not be Satanically enough Sambenitoed by those passages, he has lit upon a Third method of Reviling: He falls upon the Ministers as having opposed the Reassumption of the Old Charter by the people, after the Revolution; but I must be singled out, as having been above the rest in that opposition. Come then, you shall have the Truth of that matter too. Let all the world know, if they please, that I was against our making a Revolution on this Bottom, that the Condemnation of our Charter was invalid; and that the Judgment passed upon it in the Court of Chancery, (however Hard enough yet) was Null and Void. On that Bottom it was impossible to have maintained it: neither the condition of Men and Things here at home, nor the Relation we bore to England, would have admitted it; No, it was to be Bottomed

#### Page 45

on the Invasions that had been given to our English Liberties, rather than our Charter Liberties. Before the former Governour and Magistrates Reassumed their places, I then thought (and so did much wiser men) it was necessary, a Convention should give them assurance that the Colony would yield Obedience. When this was done, the Old Government was Reassumed, and the Old Charter too was Reassumed, as far as it was possible to be done; Every thing in the world was done, but only declaring that the Judgment passed in the Kings Court of Chancery (however it might be thought a Grievance) did the Charter no Damage; which if some were wiser then to say, who can help it? Well, did I oppose this Reassumption! They that were acquainted with me, I am sure, did not think so; and they that sent their Tory Pamphlets about the Countrey against me, as an Impudent Youth, for my assisting the Reassumed Government, I am sure did not think so. Let the things Published for the supporting of the Reassumed Government; and particularly the very first Passage in the first Sermon, at the Anniversary Election, which the Deputies of the General Court called me to Preach and Print, (which by the way, would they have done, if the Young Man had been such an one, as this man would render him?) be my Everlasting

Apology; and let Calves never Bleat, nor Bulls (of Bashan) Roar against me, on that point any more. The last effort of his Malice is a Postscript against the Life of Sir William Phips: against whose Memory, why any whose throats are an open Sepulchre, should be so monstrously envious, that like Jackalls, they can't let him rest quietly in a Sepulchre, Good men can't imagine any reason, but the third Chapter of Genesis. But all Considerate men will now believe, that the Invectives of such as this Calf, against that good Spirited and well Meriting person, are as true as that which Calef sayes, was uttered before the Kings Council-board against him, That Sir William stopt the proceedings against the Witchcrafts, because his own Lady was Accused. A most putid Slander! But as I have rarely endured a Storm of being Evil spoken of, but for my speaking Well of other (and vertuous) men, when I have had nothing of Interest, but meer Principle and Conscience to move me unto it: so I have endured more than a little from some sort of men, for my writing the Life of Sir William Phips, and speaking well of him, without either Doing or Speaking Ill, against any one Good man under the whole Heavens, in the whole Composure, It seems,

I must now write an Apology, for that Book: for which I have no Confession to make, but, That I don't wish one Line of it unwritten. I have expresly declared, in the First Section of it; It is not any Partiality for the Memory of my Deceased Friend, or any other Sinister design whatsoever, that hath Invited me to this undertaking; but I have undertaken this matter from a sincere Desire, that the Ever Glorious Lord JESVS CHRIST may have the Glory of His Power and Goodness, and of His Providence, in what He did for such a Person, and in what He Disposed and Assisted him to do for Him. Some (I know, why?) have wished, That Book had not been written, But others, not inferiour to them, do Bless God, that ever it was written. And I think, and so do many more that love their Countrey, think, I had Reason enough to write it: If some think, I had not, however I have done Them no Hurt; and I do not often see Reason, in other cases as well as This, to be of Their opinion. Gentlemen of as good sense as any of them, in Letters from England, please to thank me for that Book; adding, They who find fault with the Character of that person, are men who have not the Courage to Imitate his Vertues. And Gentlemen of Greatèr Figure than any of them, in their Letters, are pleased to say, Your Account of Sir William Phips's

Life, was a Wise and Seasonable work. But some say; I have Overdone, and given my Deceased Friend, an higher Encomium than he deserved. And if it were so, yet we find in other Instances, That the Gentlemen (if they be indeed such) who criticise upon the Lives daily Published, when they are never so critical, do never make an Author Criminal, if he overdo a little, in setting off his Hero. But be patient a little, Sirs; The Highest that I have written of my Friend, is all summ'd up, in p. 105, 106. with these words; I have not all this while said, he was Faultless. It must be Confessed, lest I should prove a Flatterer, he had his Infirmities; but, I do from a real Satisfaction of Conscience concerning him, declare to all the world, That I reckon him, to have been really a very worthy man; that few men in the world, Rising from so mean an Original, as he, would have acquitted themselves with a thousandth part of his Capacity or Integrity; that he left unto the world a notable Exemple of a Disposition to Do Good, and Encountred and Overcame almost Invincible Temptations in doing it. Now, I believe, the Body of the People of New-England, will own that this is not Overdoing; But for those few Friends of mine, who will still call it Overdoing, I have two Offers to make them. First. If the Addresses which the Body of

the whole People of this Province, in the General Court Assembled, made unto the King and Queen for the continuance of Sir William Phips, in his Government, may be Published, (or at least the Character, which the General Court with an endeared Satisfaction heard the Greatest person then in the Province, give of him, after the Tydings of his Death;) I'll be content that all my Encomium of him, should be obliterated: I am sure, Sir William would be no loser by it. Secondly. When the Adversaries of Sir William Phips, have been as hard upon one of Their, for his Emblazoning the Vertues, and Magnifying the Praises of another Governour (whose Mother had her support from the Alms of my Uncles Church in Dublin) in his considerations for the Colony of Connecticut, I'll then Consider a little further, what my Faults are in telling, what many Thousands know and feel to be True about Sir William. That History is, I remember concluded with a well known passage in Suidas, That an Envious man once going to pull down a Statue, which had been Erected unto the memory of one whom he Maligned, he only got this by it, that the Statue falling down, knock'd out his Brains. It was but Justice and Prudence, that one who so deserved of his Countrey as

that Gentlemen did, should have a Statue, and all that have hitherto gone to hurt it, have only got an ill Name unto themselves. I would advise those unkind people to desist from such a Barbarous and Ungenteel way of treating a Deceased Gentleman; for his Friends are so furnished, that these people will only dash and wound themselves against a Tombstone that will not be broken. And Considerate men will think, and it will not be easy to perswade the Body of the people in this Countrey otherwise, That Sir Williams Exemplary love to his Countrey, and the Churches in it, and his not giving himself up to evil Courses, is all their Quarrel against him. The History was no sooner abroad, but in the Præface to the Life of Mr. Bailey, I inserted such words as these; That Malice it self may never hiss with the least Colour of Reason any more, I do here declare; let any man Living, Evince any one material mistake in any of my Composures, it shall have the most Publick Recantation that can be desired. All men will say this offer was fair. Well, when mine (and Religions) Adversaries, had with a concocted malice, done all they could, they thought at last they had found one passage, wherein they might impeach my Veracity. I had said, That before Quebeck, Sir William lay within Pistol-Shot of the Enemies Canon, and

that his Ship was Shot through, in an Hundred places, and that it was Shot through, with Four and Twenty Pounders. (Tis a gross Hardship for any to take my meaning, as if all the Shot had been so.) And now they fall to Tragical Exclamations; they think Four and Twenty Pounders to be too small Dimensions, for the Clamours they must Batter me withal? But, hold Robin, I am not so soon Shot through; and the Statue as I told thee, has knock'd out thy Brains. I wrote no more than the very words, which I find in a Journal of the Expedition to Quebec; and as any Gentleman may see it if he will, so there is no Gentleman but what will count this my sufficient Excuse. Calef himself has lately owned, that that he verily believes I did so; Where then, my Friend, where was the Conscience of this Out-Cry on my Fidelity? However, I began to suspect, that I had been betrayed unawares, to Flourish this matter with more of a Rhetorical Liberty, than Historical Exactness; and I was almost ready, humbly to beg Pardon for one Paragraph (in all my poor Treatises) as guilty of aggravating a matter with too florid Circumstances, But now the matter shall not go over so. Our Friend Calef sayes, That they were not nearer the Enemy, then

half or three quarters of a Mile; and there might be in all, Seven Shot that struch the Hull of the

## Page 52

Vessel? and that none of them were known to be bigger than Eighteen Pounders, the Enemy having but one Gun, that could carry an Eighteen-Pound-Ball. Now, behold how the attempts of my Adversaries to prove a Falshood in me, Recoil upon themselves. I affirm, that every one of his Assertions are Fabse; and I entreat you to repair to as honest men, as any aboard the Ship, who if they do not under their Hands demonstrate, that the Assertions of Calef are every one of them False, and if they do not also Testifie and Justifie the Truth of what I have written, yea, that some of those Individual Four and Tmenty Rounders have been long used in some Domestick uses among our Neighbours; I am content, you should say what you please concerning me. But if mankind will not now Conspire to deny me Justice, they will acknowledge, that the Truth of my Historical Writings, has nothing short of a Triumph in this Thing: when my fiercest Enemies (for such my poor Zeal to serve the Holy Churches of the Lord has procured me) have ransacked as much as they pleased of what I have written, they can fix but upon one passage; which after all is found so incontestable. To take Notice of the many other obnoxious Things in this odd Book, would be Endless, and Useless. And yet now my Hand is in, I am content, that there be Two Remarks more made upon it.

## Page 53

First, Can You Comprehend, (for my part, I cannot!) where lies the Ingenuity or Signisicancy, of my Neighbour Calefs Argumentations? He pretends, to write a Book to prove, That there are no such Witches, as do hurt, by Confæderacies with Devils, ( and that though the Bible expressly say, concerning the Witch of Endor, She was a Mistriss of a Spirit, yet there is no need of Believing what the Bible sayes.) Well, How does he prove it? Thus; If Mr. Mather got several Ministers, to give him a Testimonial of his Fidelity in his Agency, then there are no Witches. But he did so; Therefore, -- Again; If Mr. Mather procured Sir William Phips to be Governour, that he might get himself Established Præsident of the Colledge, then there are no Witches. But he did so; Therefore, -- Once more, If the French at Quebec Shot no Four and Twenty-Pounders, then there are no Witches. But the former is true; Therefore, -- Admirably argued! -- But because the Consequence in these wonderful Arguments, is beyond my Reach, I must satisfy my self with only Denying the Assumption in each of them. No wonder that our Author

threatens us, with Refusing to admit unto the work of the Ministry, those that have been Educated in School-Learning. All our dull School Learning

#### Page 54

would never Enable a man, to penetrate into the Sense and Force of this Incomparable Reasoning. Truly, to penetrate into it, would rather be to prove That there are Witches: For who but Witches, were able to do it? Secondly, Though there are many Impious Assertions, in my Neighbour Calefs Volumn, yet there is but one that I shall observe to you, because the Impiety of it, outdoes all the rest, and almost all that ever I read in my Life. His words at the Eightieth page, are these: To say, that God did at any time inpower a Witch, to work wonders, to gain belief to the Doctrine of Devils, were with one B eath, to destroy root and branch, all Revealed Religion. I pray Sirs, now turn to Dent. 13. 1, 2. If there arise among you a Prophet, or a Dreamer of Dream, and gives thee a Sign or a Wonder, and the Sign or the Wonder come to pass, whereof he spake to thee, saying, Let us go after other Gods, -- Thou shalt not hearken to the words of that Prophet for the Lord your God proveth you. Yea, 'tis expresly said concerning the greatest Idolater that ever was in the world, Rev. 13. 14. He Deceives them which dwell on the Earth, by means of those MIRACLES which he had POWER to do: And Rev. 19. 20. The False Prophet wrought MIRACLES, with which

#### Page 55

he DECEIVED. Whereas, according to Calef, if there do arise a False Prophet, (which by the way, is a Witch, according to his Definition of one) and he should have power to do a Sign or a Wonder, and he should say, I Preach to you another God, besides Jesus Christ, you must let go all the Revealed Religion of Jesus Christ; We have a sufficient warrant now to give up all the Revealed Religion of our Holy Jesus, to Turn Mahometan, or Deists, or Pagans, or any thing that a Devil shall propose unto us. Calef teaches us, to go after other God, if a Witch may work monders to invite us unto it; and this he does, after he had said. (p. 25.) That a Possessed person being lifted up, and held a space of several minutes in the Air, [of which being done in our Neighbourhood, he had several uncontroulable Testimonies, of Neighbours, that are far honester men than himself,] is as true a miracle, as those recorded in the Scripture. And it is well known, That the Ouakers formerly, and especially that Goblin Tom Case, often did Wonders (not much inferiour to those of Apollonius Tyaneus, of which you have read,) if this were one, that by



Breathing or Stroaking on people, they would make them follow them, like so many Spaniels all the Countrey over; or if this were one, that by fixing their Eye

## Page 56

on some of their followers at any time, they would make them voluntarily Fall and Foam and Roll about, until they came unto the Feet of of these Enchanters, who by a Touch of their Hands would then set them upon their Feet again. To tell us, we must part with Root and Branch of all Revealed Religion, if Seducers may get power to work wonders, is as Dangerous and as Damnable a position, as ever dropt from the Pen of man: 'tis fit only to be written with a Quill of an Harpy. Where, I beseech you, where is the Grace or Sense of such Readers,( or are any such Readers worthy to be Teachers of others?) who could Read over this Book, and say They saw no Hurt in it! Give me leave: That vile Book of Tom Maules, which the General Court Condemned unto the Flames, had not in it a more hideous piece of Doctrine, then this of Robert Calef. I pray, let Serious Christiæns Consider it! And indeed, Serious Christians have already Considered the Book so far, that this man has made himself too manifest unto all men, for him to proceed any further with any success. People at first were a little eager to see the Book, as they would be to see a Prodigy; for they generally reckoned it a very Prodigy of wickedness. But they are now satisfied, That if he should go on to write never so

## Page 57

many more such Volumns, they would lye upon his hands; no sober people would vouchsafe to look upon them. I will give your patience no further trouble. Satan was doubtless in hopes by these Libels, to damnify my precious Opportunities, of serving the Lord Jesus Christ: But as I have cause to hope, that the Lord will requite me Good for the Cursing that I have encountred; so, my Opportunities to do Good, will be strangely preserved and increased. They are not in atans hands; I commit my cause to Him that Judges Righteously: and I would humbly hope, That nothing shall befall me, but what shall promote the Evangelical Interests. In the mean time, though this Profane Mocker do Scoff at the recording of Remarkable Providences; and among such, he particulary enumerates this, That the first person, whose Funeral our new Bell toll'd for, was one of my Children, which by the way, is a gross Lye in matter of Fact; and if it had been true, I know nothing so very Remarkable in it!] yet I would not have him Scoff too much at Remarkable Providences; for he does not



know, what the Hand of Heaven may do upon himself. All I would add, shall be to tell you, what

Page 58

Use I would make of these Allatratations. I remember, I have read, That the Muscovites travelling vast Journies on the Ice, in Sleds drawn by Reine Deer, to make the Deer dispatch with incredible Diligence, they tye a Dog in the Sled, who by his continual Barking sets the Deer a running with such speed, as to Draw its burthen (they tell us) Forty Leagues a day. I hope, I am travelling to the Heavenly World, and carrying as many with me thither as I can: But I Fear I am too Slothful; through my Slothfulness, I don't use Dispatch enough; (though my Flattering Friends think this the least of my Faults.) Now, that I may be quickned in my Heavenly Work, and Heavenward Race, there must it seems, be provided for me something to Bark at me so Loud, that all the Countrey shall hear of it. Now, God forbid, that I should complain of so wise a Dispensation. It won't be long before I am out of Hearing; and where the wicked cease from Troubling.' In the mean time; SIRS, I am Sincerely Yours;  
COTTON MATHER,

Page 59

'According to the Desire of this Reverend Person, we have now received several Testimonies, from Honest men, that were aboard the Ship, mentioned in the Letter. But because they all concur in the same thing, we shall here transcribe only one of them, which is as followeth; 'Being desired to certifie, what we know concerning certain passages in a Libellous Book of one Robert Calef; affirming, That the Admiral of our Fleet lying before Quebec was not within Pistol-Shot of the Enemy; and that the Ship was not Shot through in an Hundred places; and that no more than about Seven Shot Struck the Hull of the Vessel; and none of them known to be above Eighteen Pounders, the Enemy having but one Gun (sayes he) that could carry so big as an Eighteen-Pound Ball. We whose Names are subscribed, can Convict the Falsehood of those Assertions. We can Assert, That the Enemies Small Shot not only came aboard us, but also went much beyond us. We can also to this day reckon up, as we judge, to the best part of Three-Score particular places, where we can remember the Ship was in one part or an other Shot through: and near Twenty places at least (if not more)

Page 60

in the Hull of the Ship; and if he that reports it should say, the Ship was Shot through in an Hundred places, we could not Contradict it, but rather Justifie it. We were also well assured, that the Enemy Shot Four and Twenty Pounders, because we could not Charge our Guns with such of them as were preserved, though some of our Guns carried Eighteen Pounders. And the Gunners also took the Measure of them (and said they likewise Weighed them) and found them to be Four and Twenty Pounders.' Boston, December 3rd. 1700. To this Testimony, and to the others, the Names of several very Honest men then aboard, and some that were (as Gunners and Carpenters) best able to make report of these things, are Subscribed with their own Hands, which we have ready to produce unto any one that shall ask to see them. And now let the world say, whether a greater kindness could in effect be done, unto the Reputation of this worthy man, and the Credit of his Historical Writings, (by which the Lord has been so much Glorified,) than to see that the only passage, which his Enemy can single out, turns back upon those that make their Cavils,

#### Page 61

We have taken Notice of a certain passage, which bears hard upon Mr. Cotton Mather. Our Friend Calef, speaking of the Tryal of one Goody Glover, who was Executed, for afflicting the Children of our Friend, Mr. John Goodwin; In p. 152. of his Book, he sayes, Mr. Cotton Mather, was the most active and forward of any Minister in the Countrey, in those matters, taking home one of the Children and c. Our Friend, who of all men had most reason to know the Truth, does declare to Mr. Mathers Vindication, as followeth; 'Let the World be informed, that when one of my Children had been Labouring under sad Circumstances from the Invisible World, for about a quarter of a Year, I desired the Ministers of Boston with Charlestown, to keep a Day of Prayer at my House, if so be Deliverance might be obtained; Mr. Cotton Mather was the last of the Ministers that I spoke to on that occasion, and though by reason of some necessary business, he could not attend, yet he came to my House in the morning of that Day, and tarried about half an hour, and went to Prayer with us, before any other Minister came. Never before now, had I the least acquaintance with him. About three or four Months after this, I desired that

#### Page 62

another Day of Prayer might be kept by the aforesaid Ministers, which accordingly they did, and Mr. Cotton Mather was then present. But he never gave me the least advice, neither Face to

Face, nor by way of Epistles, neither Directly, nor Indirectly; but the motion of going to the Authority, was made to me, by a Minister of a Neighbouring Town, now Departed. And matters were managed by me in Prosecution of the supposed Criminal, wholly without the Advice of any Minister or Lawyer, or any other person. The Ministers would now and then, come to visit my distressed Family, and pray with and for them; among which, Mr. Cotton Mather would now and then come, and go to Prayer with us: yet in all that time, he never advised me to any thing concerning the Law, or Tryal of the Accused person; but after that Wicked woman had been Condemned about a Fortnight, Mr. Cotton Mather invited one of my Children to his House; and within a day or two after that, the Woman was Executed.' John Goodwin. Now, Behold how active and forward Mr. Mather was, in transacting the Affairs, relating to this Woman; and be Astonished, that ever any One should go to insinuate such things to the

#### Page 63

world, as are known by most that ever heard of those Afflicted Children, to be so far different from Truth. We wonder Friend, what made you to wander so far from the design of your Book, (which you tell us, p. 3. of your Præface, is to prevent any more such Bloody Victims or Sacrifices, and the Vindication of the Truth,) as to do what in you lies, to lessen the Esteem of those Servants of Christ, (which you make your chiefelt Butts) among the Lords People. Surely, it was not to Prove your Principles about Witchcraft: that would discover the Weakness of your cause, which we don't desire to meddle with, thinking it fitter for wiser men. Neither was it (we would hope) to gratify the Vngodly: that would be to appear on the wrong side. We would gladly suppose, it was not to raise your your own Credit upon the fall of Theirs, was it? If so, the stone rolls upon your self. Had you duely Considered that Text, Zech. 2. 8. He that toucheth you, toucheth the Apple of mine Eye; we have Charity to hope, you would never have ventured, as in your Book you have done, even, to put those Servants of Christ, into Bear Skins, for you know who to worry them. You can't but see some such Effects already in what you have done. We pray God Pardon your Sin, and give you the Grace to Repent. You may, for all us, write what Arguments you

#### Page 64

please, for the Defence of your own Principles, and if you had only done so Now, you would never in this Way have heard from us; wherefore our Advice to you is if it be worth taking) whatever

you do, don't venture to insinuate, any more such landers and Falshoods to the world, as you have already done; but if the Evil Spirit tempt you to it, Let us entreat you, before you do it, seriously to Consider, Mat. 25. 42. where our Saviour sayes, He takes what is done to His, as done to Himself: For we are sure, according to Charity, you dare not say, they are not the Servants of Christ, and Faithful in their Generation. We shall now add no more; But we read, that when some persons not of the greatest Figure, appeared for the Blessed Paul, against them that were his Adversaries, all the Churches gave them Thanks. Thus we do believe, that the Churches, will give us Thanks, for our appearing to Vindicate in this manner the Reputation of our Pastors; (we are verily perswaded, few will so openly make themselves partakers of this mans Sins, as to express any dislike of so Just an action:) Because it was the end of Satan, to hinder all the Churches, from the Good and Benefit of their Labours. But we shall undoubtedly find Satan and his Instruments frustrated.

Page 65

To conclude, we cannot hear of any one Pious person, that does approve of Robert Calefs most Scandalous Book. Many rather think that the writer of it, ought to have some Exemplary Punishment inflicted on him, that others might hear and fear, and that none may hereafter do any more so wickedly. He falls under the weight of many Prayers; For we can assure him, that more than a Few, have carried him before God, with Complaints of the Injuries which he hath done to the Name of Christ, by Slandering His Faithful and Eminent Servants. He has done Them much wrong, and may fear that the Lord will Reward him according to his works.

## **Postscript**

Page 66

POSTSCRIPT. While these Papers were in the Press, it was understood, That some endeavoured to make this Vindication to be of no Effect, by Cavilling, That it is a Fallacy, and that it is the Work of the Pastors Vindicated, and none of Theirs who have set their Names unto it. Now,tho' the work will sufficiently clear it self, to all Impartial Readers, and there are other witnesses enough to prove this Cavil to be False; Yet that no person may be so unreasonable as to mention it any more, it hath been thought not amiss to annex the ensuing Declaration. 'That we may clear our Friends from a Calumny, we hear cast upon them, as if one of us were the Author, of what goes under their Name, in their Essay for our just Vindication. we do hereby Declare

(each of us for himself,) That the said Calumny is very False. Yea, we were so far from Composing of this Essay, that we Earnestly but Eruitlessly, ask'd of them, to Abate some Expressions, of their Good and Kind opinions concerning us, which are now Occurring in it. And if the plain Dissimilitude of Style, were

#### Page 67

not a sufficient Evidence for them, yet no man knows the Flock whereto they belong, who does not know, That there are many persons in it, whose Talents would enable them to write as well as this Book is written, and much better than that which this hath answered. But what needs any more be said? When One of these Seven Brethren, more than Ten years ago, had a Discourse of his own Printed, in a Style not inferiour to this; And (not more particularly to mention One of the Seven Subscribers, who with Joy set his Hand unto this work, while he lay Sick of the Sickness that carried him to a better World, and went thither the more Joyfully for his having done so;) Others of them have not improved so little under their Evangelical Advantages and Exercises, that they should be unable to write as well as now they do: Though which of them, hath been most concerned in it, we perceive they are not willing to have exposed. For the Satisfaction of the Publick, we judge it convenient further to add, That we so far despised the Assaults, which our Inconsiderable Adversary had made upon us, as to think it not worth the while to answer his Impertinent Libels and Slanders. Nor did we ever

#### Page 68

propose it unto any One of the Brethren in our Church, to Answer them for us. And when These, with more Brethren, came to us, with an offer to do, what they have now done, though we could not but heartily Thank them for their Affection to us, [ The Lord give Mercy to them and their Houses, who were not Ashamed of our Cause!] Yet we had never permitted them to do it, if it had not been for This Consideration; That albeit there was little Hazard, that the Dirt, of our Adversaries Book (which we bind as a Crown unto us) would at all so stick as to Damnify our precious opportunities, to Glorifie our Lord Jesus Christ in this Countrey, where we have been known from our Childhood; but the poor man (whom we heartily pity) and his Book, had only made themselves Loathsome to all Sober People: Nevertheless the Dirty Book, was carried abroad unto some of the Islands, where it was more needful for us to have our Friends furnished with our Vindication: And we were also sensible, That there were many Good men, who would be glad of being informed in many

Particulars, which are brought now to light. But even in this matter also, we were grown somewhat Cold, until some would have

#### Page 69

perswaded our Brethren, to desist from their Action, because our Enemies Threatned, That they would write again, and bring to light other things, (we know not what) against us. These Threats only Confirmed us in our Consent and Advice, That our Brethren should go on, and rendred it indeed absolutely Necessary. For we have not Lived so, but that (through the Grace of Christ) we can Defie all the Malice of all our Enemies. Let them tell all the Truths they can possibly discover concerning us: But if they go on with telling of Lies, the Infatuated men have already done so much that way, that they have only laid themselves open unto the Resentments of Good men, from one end of the Land unto the other, and (while we were far from doing or wishing them any Hurt) they have Hurt themselves a Thousand Times more than either of us. Yea, the Glorious Lord, whose we are, and whom we serve, will cause those that seek our Soul, to destroy it, (and our Opportunities to do good unto the Souls of others, which are dear to us as our own Souls) to find first or last the fulsilment of that word, The mouth of them that speak Lies shall be stopped. All we have to add is, That we would Bless and not Curse those who Persecute us, and fervently Pray to God, for His Best Blessings

#### Page 70

on the very Worst of all our Persecutors: and would have them know, That though they may oblige us to Defend onr selves, we hope, they shall not provoke us to Revenge any wrongs they may do unto us. And if any by their Envious Vexing and Carping, at the fair Vindication of our Innocency, do make themselves Parties with our Persecutors, and Partakers in the Sins of their Book, and would make New-England, the only Countrey where it is a Crime for Innocency to have a Vindication, we Forgive these also, and Pray, That they may be Forgiven. INCREASE MATHER. COTTON MATHER. Jan. 9th. 1700, 1. FINIS The Reader is desired to mend these small Faults, that have escaped the Press. Page 16. l. 24. r. the open. p. 21. l. 16. dele say. p. 31. l. 28. f. whould r. would. p. 361. l. 10. f. Antiseriptural r. Antiseriptural. p. 37. l. 2. f. acquainten r. acquainted. p. 41. l. 29. dele could. p. 52. l. 17. dele that. p. 57, l. 3. dele of. p. 62. l. 10. f. had r. has. p. 64. l. 18. dele your.